1: Burrows--30 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 272 Ifalik

"The process of making toddy is simple. A flower stalk is cut off squarely just short of the bud. It is then bound around with sinnet cord, taking turns about a half-inch apart. From this cord is slung a coconut shell, with a hole in the top, to catch the liquid that drips from the cut edge. This edge must be continually cut back, a narrow slice at a time, to keep the wound fresh. The toddy-maker must climb the tree, change shells, and freshen the cut, twice a day. The juice is strained through a funnel made of the fabric from around the base of the leaves. Toddy is carried and kept, nowadays, in glass bottles.

Some trees will not yield toddy at all. The people have no way of telling this in advance. An average tree, they say, yields about a quart a day; an especially good one, two or three quarts. One flower stalk will drip continuously for about two months. After that it is allowed to heal and the tree given a rest. The trees are not injured if treated in this way, the natives say.

Fresh toddy is considered especially good for children and old people, but all ages enjoy it. It is milky white in color, and has a sweet taste. Used with taro, in addition to coconut cream, it makes some of the few delicacies of Ifalik cooking."

2: Damm et al. --33 [2] (1909) 1938 Woleaians
116, 272, 262 Ifaluk

Palm wine (kări) is an important food. It is produced in the same way as on Polowat. And the natives prepare it in the morning, at noon and late in the afternoon. Cooked palm wine (lĭs) is mixed with water before it is drunk.

28: Spiro--144 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 512, 272 Ifalik

"Everyone has his toddy in the morning. A person could no more begin his day without toddy than the average American can begin his without coffee. But toddy in Ifaluk is more than the 'national drink.' There is almost an aura of sanctity surrounding it, and it becomes almost a moral duty to make it. Should a man not make toddy, he is accused of violating one of the important marital and familial obligations. Since the toddy is one of the few sources of concentrated sweet or sugary foods the people have, the emphasis placed on it might be explained on this rational basis. But this rational consideration, I do not believe is a sufficient explanation. The attitude towards it is much too reverential to be explained on purely utilitarian grounds. Men sacrifice for toddy certain conveniences they would sacrifice for nothing else. For example, rainy and damp days are abhorred by the natives, and all activity practically ceases. But one activity that continues, however, no matter how bad the weather, is the collection of toddy. The first thing the men did after the big blow, which the natives called a minor typhoon, was to collect their toddy."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

spaced canoes with a line. A large V-shaped seine was set in the middle of the semicircle, its bottom and sides over one of the ravines. When all was ready, groups of men on the reef at each end of the semicircle started hauling in on the rope, bringing the two ends continually closer together, so that eventually a big circle was formed with the off-shore edge just in back of the apex of the seine.

Everyone was in the water except the men hauling on the ends of the rope, the canoes being pulled along as the circle contracted. Everyone who owned them wore goggles, and with goggles the whole theory of the operation was clear. The frightening line of weaving fronds moved slowly along the bottom, driving hordes of fish of all colors, shapes and sizes before it. The swimmers followed along with the rope, and as the circle got smaller and smaller and the water more and more shallow, the circle of swimming men formed an additional barrier above the palm fronds. The fish, milling frantically inside the barrier, were finally driven into the seine, which was then closed, pulled up between two canoes, and the contents ladled into another canoe with a dip net. When the seine was up, many of the men went in with spears and dug out the fish hiding among the coral boulders.

This process was repeated three times during the day, the canoes and seine being moved each time to a new position along the reef. The total catch for the day was one of the middle-sized canoes about half full of fish. This was not regarded as a really good catch, but everyone seemed reasonably happy, and the fishing expedition, accompanied by a great deal of laughter and horseplay, was a fine combination of business and pleasure.

The BWUP with its passengers was sent in over the reef ahead of the rest, since it was so slow. The whole flotilla had moved around the reef toward the north end of Falarik during the course of the day, and the BWUP, on the way home, pulled in to this part of the island, where Yani and Bakal scouted for drinking coconuts. We all sat, relaxed, on the trunk of a fallen coconut for our drinks, and for the first cigarettes of the day. Because smoking before or during a fishing expedition is taboo.

The canoes came dashing home across the lagoon in fine style and by the time we got to the Fan Nap the canoe-load of fish had been

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
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milk or toddy as a liquid for cooking, than as a food in itself. But the green nuts everywhere provided a handy source of drink; and the translucent, jelly-like flesh of these green nuts, eaten after the milk has been drunk, was surely a highly nutritious, though perhaps minor, food.

When a coconut sprouts, the hollow of the nut becomes filled with the white spongy tissue of a special absorbing organ (an extension of the cotyledon). This spongy tissue has a pleasant, sweetish taste and the Ifalukians were very fond of it. It often seemed to me that the juice of green coconuts filled the role on Ifaluk of soft drinks or mid-morning coffee in our culture; and that the spongy tissue of these sprouted nuts corresponded to candy bars, a tasty snack always readily available. The Ifalukian product, in both cases, would seem to be more "healthful" than its Western counterpart.

Toddy, or hachi, the sap that oozed from the cut flower stalks of coconuts, was a very important element in the Ifalukian dietary. Many palms have a strong flow of sap into the large, rapidly-growing flower stalks, and people in several parts of the world have learned to use this—most notoriously in a fermented form. The flow of sap was better in some coconut palms than in others, and on Ifaluk the particularly good palms were marked off for this special purpose of supplying toddy. Every morning and every evening all of the young men of the island were off on their rounds of collection, each with his special beat.

The toddy palms all had notches cut in the trunks to facilitate climbing. A man would go to each of his palms in succession, climb up to the crown, pour the sap accumulated in a coconut shell into the bottle he carried, shear off a thin slice from the end of the cut flower stalk to stimulate sap flow, replace the coconut shell to catch the drip, and go on to the next palm. Several quarts of the fresh sap were thus brought into every household each morning and evening.

The rich, sweetish sap was reserved primarily for the women and children—its place in the diet of Ifaluk seemed to correspond to milk in the diet of the West, and the regularity of the young men with their toddy chores reminded me strongly of the regularity of the milking chore in the rural West. It was, in fact, the only regularity we were

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
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able to observe on Ifaluk. Meal hours had no fixed time. There was generally only one large meal in a day, but the time of day at which this was eaten seemed to vary with the whim or convenience of each particular household. The time of toddy-collecting, however, was as unvarying as the sunrise and sunset with which it coincided; and every young man dropped whatever else he was doing at those times to carry out his chore.

Officially, the toddy was always used fresh on Ifaluk. As Ted had found during his first visit to the island, the chiefs had decreed prohibition. They had observed the effect of alcohol on the peoples of some of the neighboring and more Westernized atolls, where the people had easily learned how to distill the fermented toddy into really potent stuff, and they had decided that for the peace and security of the island it would be best if even fermentation were not allowed.

But toddy ferments easily and quickly. We noticed at some of the dance rehearsals an occasional older man with a definitely unsteady gait or a tendency to be too loud or too obvious, and concluded that he had allowed some toddy to follow its natural course by leaving it sit for a day. We had no direct evidence of the violation of prohibition, however, until toward the end of the summer when Tom offered us a sip from his bottle.

The stuff tasted very good to me, though perhaps I am no judge since my taste in alcohol is catholic. It had a pleasant, cider-like tang with, I should judge, about the strength of good beer.

Breadfruit, the two kinds of taro, and coconut, then, were the basic vegetables of the atoll. There were also a number of minor crops—especially papayas and several kinds of bananas and plantains. The papayas were fair, the bananas excellent, but they seemed to be little used by the people. We were often brought cooked green papayas, which have a squash-like texture and taste, and this seemed to be the way they were most commonly used. We were kept constantly supplied with bananas—we always had a bunch or two hanging to ripen in the Fan Nap—but the people seemed to consider them to be children's food. They appeared to prize the banana plants more for the fiber they got from the stem than for the fruit.

Fish formed the basic animal food, but the people also had pigs